5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
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twin oxen not more than three years old, and no one was allowed to see the ploughmen and no one allowed to enter or leave the village. Besides that the plough had to be specially made; the wooden parts, of a tree with a double trunk from the root (twin trees), and the iron parts, of iron collected in nine different districts and forged by twin, naked smiths. It is immediately striking that the ceremonial ploughing closely resembles that of ancient Italy: the characteristic features are the circular furrow, the twin ploughmen and the twin black oxen. The South Slavs were acquainted with ploughing presumably before they came into contact with a Romanised population in the Balkans, and similar rites existed in Russia and are still known in India. I do not know the history of the rite. Gruppe suggests that the apotropaeic purpose (in Greece) was to arouse demoniacal powers to oppose the harmful forces of certain predatory beings, and that from a general aim developed the associated cults of Demeter and Hermes, to be compared with the Etruscan mysteries.[1] Amongst the Slavs it remains a sporadic performance, never a seasonal celebration, and the ritual connected with the first ploughing of the year shows a completely different treatment, whereas the Germanic peoples know of a seasonal rite—generally on Ash Wednesday or Plough Monday. Some of the South Slavs and the Czechs, who may have been influenced by Germanic culture, also perform a similar ceremony during the spring, irrespective of immediate disasters. Krolmus says that among the Czechs at the spring sowing young men drove a naked girl harnessed to a plough with a black cat. The cat was buried alive at the end of the furrow. This practice was known in many parts of Russia. The rite, given by Tereščenko as typical of the Great Russians, was for plagues. A procession of women and girls was formed, and an old woman was harnessed naked to the plough. All the women carried pots and pans with which

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[1] O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte* (1906), II, pp. 894, etc. A passage in Diogenes Laertius (I, 109—H. Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* (1922), II, p. 185) points to a sacrificial motive.

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342 the entrance is generally in the center of the long side of the house, there are a number of houses (some of them two-story) where the door is on one of the short sides. In this case, the veranda is also found on the short side (Gellert, 1934: 6-7). Gellert (1934: 14) states that complicated houses such as appear in western [171] Bulgaria and Macedonia are missing in east Bulgaria. The Turkish-Oriental style present in southwestern Bulgaria is likewise missing.

[184] In central Bulgaria the same building materials are used as in eastern Bulgaria. In Ihtimanska Sredna Gora the ground floor may be of stone and bond timbers. The upper story is of brushwood, with or without plaster, or timber-framing filled with mud or unfired bricks. Whitewashing is frequent. Straw is rarely used for roofing and tiles predominate. On the foothills near Cirpan thin chalk slabs are used for roofing. Shingled roofs are absent (Gellert, 1937: 152-3).

One-story houses with a veranda enclosed at the sides are common. The veranda rarely extends along the whole front of the [184] house. In general, these houses are larger in the plains than in Sredna Gora and the Sub-Balkan Basins. In south central Bulgaria (Talešmanli and Monastirski Vrh) the side rooms protrude to such an extent that they are covered with separate hipped roofs the ridge-poles of which are connected with the main roof (Gellert, 1937: 154).

Two-story houses are numerous in the mountain regions. They are usually built on an incline. Very frequently, the veranda is changed into an anteroom and a balcony is added (fig. 56a) (Gellert, 1937: 155). Generally the lower story serves as a shelter for animals, as storage rooms and also as winter living quarters for the family (Ivimy, 1939).

[184] In the mountain regions near Gelak and in Mečka on the Topolnica River the houses tend to be squarer and in this case the veranda is bordered only on one side by a room. The roof is in the shape of a flat pyramid, or has only a very short ridgepole (Gellert, 1937: 157). In central Bulgaria one finds the čardak, a [341] balcony on a two-storied house. It differs from the veranda in that it is not as massive and is not built into the building (fig. 56d) (Gellert, 1937: 151).

351 184 Farm Buildings. The material used for the enclosure of farmyards varies from region to region, and there may be a great variety of forms in a single area. In the mountain regions and in the Sub-Balkan basins the enclosure is made of woven brushwood or, less commonly, of dry masonry or mud. The entrance is a door of simple wickerwork or boards. In some villages at the foot of Sredna Gora and in some western villages the yard is enclosed by a stone wall with inserted bond timbers. In some areas, particularly around Mečka on the Topolnica River, a fence may be lacking. In general however, wood and brushwood are preferred in the mountain regions. In the Marica plain, between Ihtimanska Sredna Gora and Cirpan,

This type of house is as a rule in the middle of a large courtyard, surrounded by a plaited fence; the secondary parts of the housing, such as stable, hay-barn, cereal store, etc. are dispersed into this yard.

In Southern Bulgaria, the Bulgarian farmers' houses do not present any difference from the rural houses of the Greeks, who were established there many centuries ago in the areas of Kavakli and Messimvria, as I have described them in my survey Θρᾳκικαὶ Οἰκήσεις (pp. 27-29 and 43-44), or from the houses of Southern, Eastern and Western Thrace. This is evident from the plans of two houses, one from the village of Maerolivado (Ouzountsovo) of the Chaskovo district (fig. 33) and the other from the Karatoprak village, of the Philippople district (fig. 34).

The first one was built in 1780; it consists of two main rooms, completely separated from each other, and of a portico which originally covered all the frontage of the house. The small room (odaja) on the right hand end of the portico is an addition of recent years. According to Zlatev «the existence of a fire place in both rooms is not normal» (p. 104) «and it is characteristic to note that the hearth in the main room, the kǎsta, has been built on the external wall». In the other room, called here «zantsa», the hearth has derived from repair and it is obvious that the use of the other room was different, namely it was used to stabling the cattle or storing fruits, ect., as it is usual in the rural houses of Southern Thrace (1). On one end of the building, in line with the two rooms, the oven has been built on one end of the portico, which is often seen in other parts of Thrace. Zlatev says that, «the division of space was not changed in bigger houses, possessing more rooms. The additional spaces are placed in line, and the portico is increased by expansion along the entire lengthened frontage of the house (2). When this lengthening is extended too much, and the length has an oppresive influence on the external appearence, the portico is then adapted so that it is extended outwardly from its centre, in the shape af a square, thus very much reminding the shape ot the mountainous house» (Zlatev, p. 104).

The same is noted in the house of the Karatoprak village (built in 1912) which is tripartite and consists of two rooms and a stable, but a part of one of its rooms (of the soba) has been separated and formed a special space which was called, from the Greek language,

1) G. Megas, Θρᾳκικαὶ Οἰκήσεις p. 13.
2) Cf. G. Megas, ibid. figg. 10 and 13.

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
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342 killer i.e. cellar. The oven is also called by a Greek name, «fourna» and here it has also been added on one side of the house (fig. 34). Finally the beautiful portico of this house, due, according to Zlatev, to the influence of the more developed mountainous house (1), brings

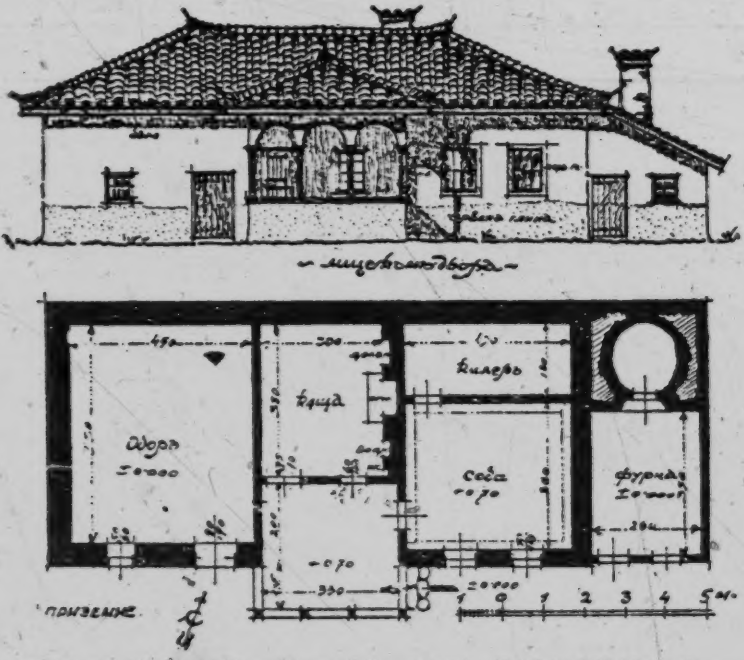

Fig. 34 House in the village of Karatoprak, district of Philippople
(Zlatev, Bălgar. kăšta, fig. 94)

to our memory a similar arrangement of the portico in semi-urban dwellings of Greece (2).

Thus the similarity of the farmer's house in Southern Bulgaria — which is nothing else but the former Northern Thrace, called Eastern

1) «This house» says Zlatev (p. 105), «is fully adapted to the needs and to the economy of a plain's farmer, the monotonous appearance of the pure lowland house; it has taken some elements from the mountainous house, which was more developed, and has influenced it in places where the communications with highland populations rendered this influence possible».

2) See **G. Megas,** Θεσσαλ. Οἰκήσεις p. 67 Plate Λ, 3. Comp. with mountainous houses of Agrapha, ibid. figg. 43 and 45.

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Roumelia,—to those houses of the remaining parts of Greek or Turkish Thrace is complete.

This is evident. The whole of Thrace, not only during the Middle Ages, but also during the Turkish occupation, constituted a geograph-

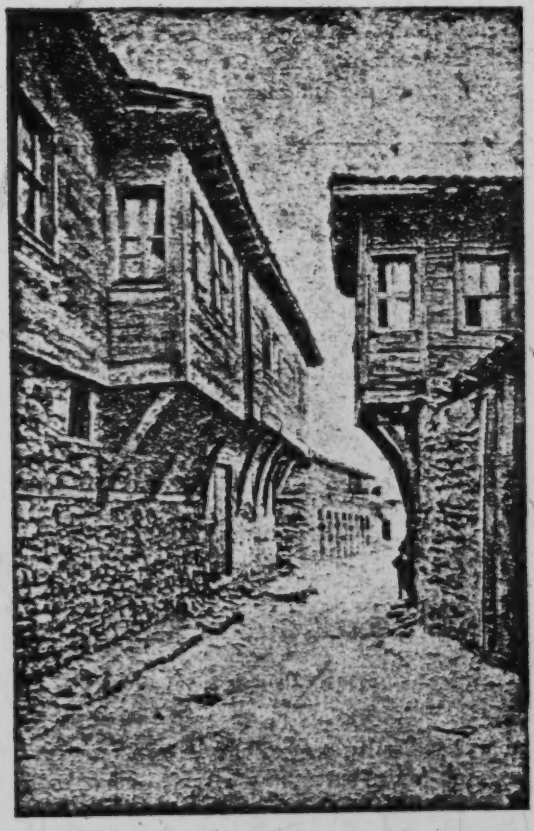

Fig. 35 A street at Messimvria

ical and political entity whose character, from an ethnological and cultural point of view, was purely Greek[1]. The Bulgars who established themselves at various times as labourers and farmers in the Thracian

1) See K. M. Apostolides, Ρωμανία—Ζαγορά καὶ τὰ τῆς Θρᾴκης ὄρια ἐπὶ τῆς Βυζαντινῆς αὐτοκρατορίας ('Αρχεῖον Θρᾳκ. Θησαυροῦ 8 (1941-42) 80 foll. 83 foll).

[The Bulgarian House of the Mountains]

In these two-storey houses as well, we distinguish in the upper-floor the two basic spaces just as in the Bulgarian house of the plains, namely the kăsta and the oda or soba with the so-called tsardak (or islak or soundourma) that is the open portico, in front of them. The lower storey is used, just as in the Greek houses, for the stabling of cattle and the storing of fruits, but very often it also includes a room with a hearth for the residence of the family during the winter. This is also called «kăsta» i.e. house, or even better, «lower house» and «small house» in contrast to the «upper», or «big house» that is the main room of the upper floor, where the family lives in the summer months.

The second room, called soba, is also used as sleeping quarter for the family, and more seldom for the storing of food and other articles. For this last purpose, another additional space is also used and is called «killer»; the upper floor is thus divided into three spaces (Plate XV).

This distribution is shown by the house of Sredna Gora (Messon Oros) which is very important as it exercised an influence upon the houses of Balkan, according to Zlatev (1). (See Fig. 43, 44 and Plate XV 1-2).

The portico in the upper floor is used, just as in the Greek houses, for the drying of fruit and as a living room of the family during the summer months. Parts of it are usually divided by light wooden or brick partitions, forming spaces called «ambar» (stores) for cereals, or even small rooms called «odaja» and «soba».

Finally, in some more composite forms of houses there is a space between the two main rooms, used as an anti-room, having the floor higher by 0.15-0.20 m. and called prust (Greek «μπροδστι»); and also some other smaller spaces, divided off and used as hiding-places or cellars. In the more developed forms, such as in the houses of the village

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towns, even in their palaces. Slavs never used stone construction until the 10th cent., except for their Southern tribes who, having arrived in the Balkan peninsula and the Italian boundaries on the 6th cent., could see for themselves the models of Byzantine and Roman architecture». Stone construction was first used in the building of churches and of palaces by experts specially invited from abroad. Cf. **J. Cvijic'**, op. cit. pp. 228, 230, 241, **G. Megas**, Θρακ. Οἰκήσεις, p. 48.

1) According to **Cvijic**, op. cit. p. 250, «the house of Srendnja Gora is the one that corresponds better to the desires of all Bulgarian farmers, because it has spread all over the country after the Turkish occupation».

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of Zeravna (Plate XV 4, 5) one end of the portico is arranged as a balcony (kioschki) slightly projecting and giving a view on the road, with its floor higher by 50-70 cm. from that of the rest of the portico, exactly as in the case of the sofas in the rich Greek houses of Northern Greece (1).

According to the above survey and after the mere examination of plates XIII-XV of the appendix, it is proved, I think, that, if we except the zadrouga-systems 6-8 pl. XIII, the general disposition of space both in one-storied and two-storied Bulgarian houses does not differ from that of the Greek house and especially the North Greek one; it also displays the same consistency and the same evolution from simpler to more complex forms. Exactly as in the external shape and the entire arrangement, the internal arrangement of the space in the Bulgarian house does not differ from the Greek and especially the Northern Greek house. The hearth, in the Bulgarian house, is built in the middle of one of the walls or in one corner of the main room with a chimney that semi-circularly protrudes over it. We also find there our well known shelves high on the walls of the room, wall cupboards (doulapze), little opening (juklouk) and large wooden cupboards (moussandri) on both sides of the hearth; the sofas (menderia) also here extend along the walls and are covered with manifold patterns, rugs and cushions.

Facing the hearth there is the pitcher-stand and next to it, in the wall, the cutlery cup-board. Bread is baked in a clay tray down in the hearth, just as in the houses of Agrafa in Thessaly. A low round table is used for eating, exactly as in the Greek rural houses in older times (2).

C. Jirecek, when describing the interior of the Bulgarian rural house towards the end of the 19th century, also mentions some articles whose names originate from the Greek language: chromel (χειρόμυλος) = a hand-mill for wheat or salt; stomna or stovna (στάμνα) = water pitcher with narrow neck; charkomka (χάλκωμα) = brass-utensil; paploma (πάπλωμα) = bed-cover; sakul (σακκοῦλι) = bag; ikona (εἰκόνα) = an ikon placed in the corner of the room (3).

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1) See **G. Megas** Θεσσαλ. Οἰκήσεις, pp. 86, 93, 97, 99.

2) According to Jirecek's note where he describes the Bulgarian urban house «Bulgars use only foreign words for the table. These are the Greek «trapeza», the Rumanian «massa» and the Turkish «sofra».

3) **C. Jirecek,** op. cit. p. 158, K. Myrtilos Apostolides in Ἀρχεῖον Θρᾳκικοῦ Θησαυροῦ vol. 8 p. 102 mentions many names of everyday objects which are orig-

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[The Bulgarian House of the Mountains] SL

The only difference lies in the method of heating of the second room. This is not heated as the main room by an open hearth, but by a stove. This is the reason why this room is called soba (i.e. stove). In order to allow the smoke of the stove to escape through the chimney of the hearth, the latter is often built at the party wall and thus it is possible to feed the stove from the side of the hearth (see fig. 44).

This system of heating, the combination of hearth and stove, the latter being fed on the side of the hearth, it is generally seen, in the Slav dwellings and is probably due to German influence (1). The arrangement of the space, however, is in the Slav house entirely different from that of the Bulgarian one. With Slavs, and even with the Serbs of Bosnia the stove (Slav. pec) is in the main room, which originally constituted the entire house (called jisba or kuc'a); this stove took the place of the open hearth because of the German and Latin influence (fig. 45 a-b). The ante-room, (pitvor) which originally had no heating, was changed into a kitchen with a hearth (called kuchyna in Czech or kyha in Serb) (2) since the time when the opening of the stove it was moved and opened on the party wall, so that the fuel could be cast from the ante-room; for in front of the mouth of the stove, a base for a hearth was thus created. (Fig. 45 c and 46).

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inating from the Greek and are to-day used in the written Bulgarian language: gonia (γωνία)=corner; dilavia (λαβίς)=pincer; enghistra (ἔγχιστρον)=hook; kerami (κεραμίδι)=tile etc.

1) The word **isba** which is also used by the Bulgars, and means the house or rather the basement is found in Russian texts of the 10th and 11th centuries as «istuba» and originates from the German word «Stube», meaning a place for baths, equipped with a stove, and generally a warm place (**Niederle,** Manuel 2, 105. **E. Berneker,** Slavisches etymol. Wörterbuch, word istuba (istba, izdba, izba). According to **Niederle,** op. cit. p. 106 Note 3 «Slavs may have even before learned to know the very oven through their immediate relations to the Greeks (Romains) and the Greek towns of Pontos. The construction of the upper floor and other details of the Russian and generally the Slav house are also due to the German and Norman influence». (**Niederle,** ibid. 2, 108).

2) This changing of the ante-room (antichambre or vestibule according to Niederle) into a «cuisine à foyer» (kitchen with a fire-place) was not performed with all Slav peoples and is not older than the 11th cent. We do not see it with Russians, part of the Poles and Slovaks, who preserved the vestibule as a non-heated room (**Niederle,** ibid. 107 foll). Cf. **R. Meringer,** Das volkstümliche Haus in Bosnien und der Hercegovina in Wissenschaftl. Mitteilungen aus Bosnien VII, 1900 Wien, 248 foll.

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are tied nearer the breg, for these animals emanate a lot of heat while feeding. One or two sky-lights are to be found on the roof of the breg and give some light to this very dark dug-out.

In the second gallery, as we have said, there is the main house. It has a fire-place, 2×2 m., with a wide chimney for the escape of the smoke. The bread is baked under the ash of this hearth and there is an opening near the fire-place for the collection of the ashes. Finally, the zadnik is the space behind the house, where food, agricultural products and other useful articles are kept (1).

The same formation is seen in another lair of the same village, which was built in 1876 (Fig. 51.)

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Dug-out houses existed from the ancient times among the Slavs, and other peoples of central and Nothern Europe, but, as it is shown by the remnants found, these dwellings constituted simple shelters (abris). That is to say, the Slavs dug out a deep trench, of more than one meter depth, which they covered with a roof of timbers, branches, hay and mud. According to Niederle «the construction of the house, or rather of the roof, was more or less simple, according to whether the stay in that place was to be of short duration; because the Slavs, used to live a nomadic life for a long time and till the beginnings of historic times». Such shelter-holes (fosses-abris) were already found in the Slav countries, of dimensions 1.50×4 meters, dating from the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries. Their construction has been retained, though on a less primitive shape, until the 19th century in some districts of Russia and Poland (2). The reason of such a form of housing is the lack of forests and of timber for construction of houses in the steppe districts.

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The troglodyte houses of Bulgaria prove of an evolution, obviously due to the influence exercised by surface houses; they are neither of Slav nor of Bulgarian origin. Ancient authors, such as Strabo VII, 5, 12, Plinius, Nat. Hist. IV, 80, Ptolemaeus (C. Müller, Ptolemaei Geographia I, 463), mention the «troglodytes» in the district of Little Skythia, now Dobroutcha, and in Dardania, who lived, like the Phrygians and the Armenians, in subterranean dwellings (3).

Consequently the Bulgars, and the Slavs who established them-

1) **T. Zlatev** op. cit. p. 112 figg. 97 98.
2) **L. Niederle,** op. cit. 2 p. 96 foll., 98.
3) See **C. Jirecek,** op. cit. 157. **G. Kazarow,** Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte der Thraker, Sarajevo 1916, p. 30.

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But even later, after the 15th century, when Bulgaria, according to Zlatev (p. 154) has enjoyed peace and quietness under the strong Turkish authority and when together with economic flourish the building art progressed, especially in the mountainous areas, even then the construction of houses, in Bulgaria and in the rest of Balcan countries was done by foreign, mainly Greek, builders from Western Macedonia and Epirus, the famous «Mastorochoria» (builder's villages)(1).

We can thus explain the great similarity between the Bulgarian rural, and later urban, house to the Greek house as regards arrangement of spaces external architecture and the methods of building. Consequently, the evolution presented by the Bulgarian house from its simplest original forms to the more composite ones, not only on the former Greek lands (Rodope, Eastern Roumelia, Plate XVI) but also in the districts over the Haimos mountains (Plate XIII-XV) it is the same as that of the Greek house.

Zlatev knows the builders of Western Macedonia when he says that it is they who introduced the beautiful arched capitals to Western Bulgaria, that sometimes hang freely at the prostoon of the houses. But Zlatev sees in these a mark of the «Italian Rennaissance» which «the Macedonians transferred from the eastern shores of the Adriatic(!) to Western Bulgaria» (p. 155). This Italian Rennaissance, according to the Bulgarian architect, «was also transplanted in the house building of Eastern Bulgaria, yet through another route, namely through Constantinople and Adrianople, and the Aegean coasts, where it took a Byzantine influence»! That is to say, Zlatev does recognize

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tine court in everything. There were many foreign prisoners in the Bulgarian capital who were specialists in various arts, as well as free Byzantine master-technicians, even during the periods when the relations of Bulgaria with Byzantion were peaceful. We can safely say that the first teachers of the Bulgarians on art, crafts and handicrafts were foreigners. Everything which the court or the aristocrats needed, was made by these artisans». The fact that Greek craftsmen were teachers of the Bulgarians in building churches and houses, and that Byzantion sent craftsmen, builders, painters etc. into Bulgaria, may be seen in **I. Sakazov**, op. cit. pp. 46, 59, 78.

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1) On a total of twenty ancient tombs excavated in W. Macedonia by A. Keramopoullos, four contained, among other offerings, the tools of the dead (Minutes of Arch. Society, 1934, p. 77, 79, 80). It can be thus said that the craft of house-builder has been handed from father to son in that area for at least 2 000 years. (See **Ant. Keramopoullos**, Τί εἶναι οἱ Κουτσόβλαχοι Athens 1939, p. 56). About Epirote craftsmen see **Ang. Hadjimichali**, 'Ηπειρωτικὴ λαϊκὴ τέχνη, 'Ηπειρωτικὰ Χρονικὰ Ε' 1930 p. foll and «La maison grecque» in L'Hellénisme Contemporain, Ser. II, 3 (1949) pp. 250 foll.